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FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5222
INFO GULF WAR COLLECTIVE

S E C R E T ISLAMABAD 15762

1E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: IR IZ PK
SUBJECT: IRAN/IRAQ WAR; SITUATION IN TEHRAN

REF: (A) STATE 227611 (B) ISLAMABAD 15582

11. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.

12. IN FURTHER DISCUSSION JULY 22, ADDITIONAL SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS SHAHARYAR KHAN WAS WILLING TO EXPAND ON HIS INITIAL BRIEFING AND TO PROVIDE ANSWERS TO A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS RAISED IN REF A. SHAHARYAR MADE CLEAR THAT HIS COMMENTS WERE BASED ALMOST ENTIRELY ON CONVERSATIONS HE HAD HAD WITH PAKISTANI EMBASSY OFFICIALS, BUSINESSMEN AND MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES LIVING IN TEHRAN. HE HIMSELF HAD BEEN THERE FOR ONLY FIVE DAYS AND HAD MOVED AROUND THE CITY VERY LITTLE BUT, IN GENERAL WHAT HE HAD SEEN SEEMED TO BEAR OUT WHAT HE HAD BEEN TOLD. HE ADDED THAT THE PRIVATE PAKISTANI COMMUNITY IN TEHRAN IS LARGE, HAS PRETTY GOOD ACCESS, AND HAS BEEN IN PLACE FOR A LONG TIME.

13. SHAHARYAR STATED THAT HIS INITIAL COMMENTS ON THE GROWING DISENCHANTMENT OF THE POPULATION WERE MEANT TO ENCOMPASS THE LOWER CLASSES. TO HIM, THERE WOULD BE NOTHING NEW ABOUT DISAFFECTION AMONG THE BOURGEOIS ELEMENT; WHAT IS NEW IS THAT THE LOWER CLASSES, BOTH IN TEHRAN AND THE COUNTRYSIDE ARE INVOLVED. WHEN I ASKED HIM WHY THIS WAS OCCURRING, HE POINTED TO THE CONSCRIPTION OF 12-13 YEAR OLDS AS THE MAJOR FACTOR, WITH PARENTS NOT BEING WILLING TO ACCEPT THE NECESSITY OF SUCH A MOVE.

14. HE HIMSELF HAD NOT BEEN OUTSIDE TEHRAN ON THIS TRIP. HOWEVER, PAKISTAN EMBASSY OFFICIALS AND PRIVATE CITIZENS CAN MOVE ABOUT THE COUNTRYSIDE WITH FEWER RESTRICTIONS THAN ALMOST ANY OTHER FOREIGNERS. (AS EVIDENCE, HE RECOUNTED AN ANECDOTE IN WHICH THE PAKISTANI AMBASSADOR WAS ALLOWED TO CONTINUE ON TO HIS SKIING DESTINATION AFTER HIS SCANDINAVIAN COLLEAGUES HAD BEEN TURNED BACK AT A LOCAL CHECKPOINT.) THESE PAKISTANI SOURCES ARE IN AGREEMENT, HE SAID, THAT THE ORDINARY PEOPLE ARE INCREASINGLY DIS-ENCHANTED WITH THE WAR.

15. ACCORDING TO SHAHARYAR, THE "MODERATE" CLERICAL GROUP IS LED BY RAFSANJANI, PRESIDENT KHAMENEI AND FOREIGN MINISTER VELAYATI. HE DOUBTED THAT THEY HAD CONVEYED THEIR VIEWS ON THE WAR DIRECTLY TO ANY PAKISTANI OFFICIALS BUT SAID THAT IT WAS RELATIVELY COMMON FOR IRANIAN THIRD PARTIES TO CHARACTERIZE THEIR VIEWS TO THE PAKISTAN EMBASSY. HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THESE LEADERS HAD YET OPENLY DEBATED ANY DIFFERENCES OF VIEW ON THE WAR WITH THE AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI NOR DID HE THINK THAT KHOMEINI WAS LIKELY TO BE PERSUADED BY SUCH A DEBATE. AS TO ANY "MIDDLE GROUND," IN SHAHARYAR'S VIEW NO ONE IN IRAN, INCLUDING KHOMEINI, WOULD SERIOUSLY HOLD OUT FOR THE ELIMINATION OF THE BAATH PARTY AS A PRECONDITION FOR ENDING THE WAR EVEN THOUGH THIS HAS BEEN A PUBLIC IRANIAN DEMAND. HE RESTATED THAT WHAT THE MODERATES ARE LOOKING AT IS A SOLUTION WHICH WOULD NOT NECESSARILY REQUIRE THE DEPARTURE OF SADDAM HUSSEIN FROM POWER.

16. SHAHARYAR WAS RELUCTANT TO MAKE ANY ESTIMATE AS TO WHETHER ONE GROUP OR ANOTHER AMONG THE CLERGY IS MOVING INTO THE ASCENDANT OR ABOUT THE POSSIBLE TIME BEYOND WHICH THE PRESENT SITUATION WOULD NOT ENDURE. HE DID SAY THAT HIS OFFICIAL AND NON-OFFICIAL PAKISTANI CONTACTS GENERALLY THOUGHT THAT ONE YEAR WAS ABOUT AS LONG AS THE PRESENT SITUATION COULD CONTINUE WITHOUT THE GOVERNMENT DOING SOMETHING TO RELIEVE THE GENERAL DISCONTENT BUT QUICKLY ADDED THAT HE HAD HEARD TOO MANY PREDICTIONS ABOUT IRAN

IN THE PAST FOR HIM TO GIVE THEM MUCH CREDENCE.

¶ 7. SHAHARYAR SAID THAT FOREIGN MINISTER VELAYATI IS ANXIOUS TO VISIT ISLAMABAD PRIOR TO THE NAM MEETING IN HARARE AND THAT DATES IN THE SECOND OR THIRD WEEK OF AUGUST HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED (BUT NOT YET NAILED DOWN). ACCORDING TO HIM, THE GOI IS CONCERNED THAT IRAQ MAY BE HAVING SOME SUCCESS IN NAM CIRCLES ON A RESOLUTION THAT IRAN WOULD FIND ONE-SIDED AND IS ANXIOUS TO CONSULT WITH THE GOP ON THIS ISSUE. SHAHARYAR EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO PASS ON ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT IRAN IN THE FUTURE.

MCCARTHY